Message Text

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PAGE 01 USBERL 00315 01 OF 02 210045Z

64

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

IO-10 NIC-01 ACDA-05 /073 W

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FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 515

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 315

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, PINT, WB

SUBJECT: MARCH 2 BERLIN ELECTIONS--THE ISSUES (OR

ABSENCE THEREOF)

REF: USBERLIN 0313

1. SUMMARY: BERLIN ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN WAGED AS BATTLE OF INS VERSUS OUTS, WITH OPPOSITIONAL PARTIES STRESSING CENTRAL THEME THAT SPD HAS WIELDED POWER FAR TOO LONG AND NEEDS TO BE REPLACED BY MORE RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT. RATHER THAN DEFENDING "DOMESTIC" RECORD, SPD HAS FOCUSED ON OSTPOLITIK BENEFITS AND ON STATURE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 USBERL 00315 01 OF 02 210045Z

OF GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ. IDEOLOGICAL AND EVEN

PROGRAMMATIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONTENDING PARTIES-EXCEPTING THOSE OF EXTREME LEFT-HAVE BEEN MUTED OR IGNORED. ELECTORATE SEEMS RELATIVELY APATHETIC, AND LOW VOTER TURNOUT IS GENERALLY EXPECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. BERLIN ELECTION CAMPAIGN NOW DRAWING TO CLOSE HAS BEEN WAGED AS CLASSIC BATTLE OF INS VERSUS OUTS. (REFTEL REPORTS OUR THOUGHTS ON OUTCOME.) RATHER THAN SEEKING TO DELINEATE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES OR TO PROPOSE FRESH APPROACHES TO CURRENT BERLIN PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES, OPPOSITIONAL PARTIES WITH EXCEPTION OF EXTREME LEFT HAVE INSTEAD PERSISTENTLY REITERATED CENTRAL THEME THAT RULING SPD HAS WIELDED POWER IN BERLIN FAR TOO LONG AND HAS BECOME EXHAUSTED AND DEVOID OF INSPIRATION. PRIME MANIFESTATION OF SPD'S TOTAL INADEQUANCY, OPPOSITION ASSERTS, IS "CLOGGED-UP" CITY BUREAUCRACY, WHICH HAS OVER YEARS BEEN PACKED WITH SPD MEMBERS WHO ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR LONG TENURE HAVE BECOME COMPLETELY INSENSITIVE TO NEEDS OF POPULACE. ALL MISTAKES ARE LAID AT THIS BUREAUCRACY'S DOOR: FAILURE TO CURB UNEMPLOYMENT: INADEQUANCY OF POLICE PROTECTION FOR ORDINARY CITIZEN: "WHITE ELEPHANTS" SUCH AS STEGLITZER KREISEL, TEGEL AIRPORT, AND NEW CONGRESS CENTER. COMMUNIST STRONGHOLDS IN UNIVERSITIES: AND CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS NOW IN PLANNING STATE SUCH AS ZEHLENDORF TUNNEL AND ADDITONAL CITY FREEWAYS. THRUST OF OPPOSITIONAL ELECTORAL APPEAL IS THUS NOT ON SUBSTAN-TIVE ISSUES SUCH AS STATUS OF BERLIN BUT ON PARAMOUNT NEED FOR CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT. "WE CAN DO IT BETTER" IS MAIN CDU THEME. (ELECTORAL GOALS OF COURSE VERY AMONG OPPOSITION PARTIES: WHILE CDU AIMS, AT LEAST PUBLICLY. TO OBTAIN MAJORITY, ANNOUNCED FDP STRATEGY IS TO FORCE SPD INTO MINORITY AND FORM COALITION GOVERNMENT.) CONFRONTED WITH THIS KIND OF CAMPAIGN, AND NO DOUBT RECOGNIZING THAT CERTAIN PAST MISTAKES ARE DIFFICULT TO EXPALIN AWAY, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE SHIED AWAY FROM DEFENDING "DOMESTIC" RECORD AND HAVE INSTEAD EMPHASIZED PRACTICAL BENEFITS THAT HAVE FLOWED FROM OSTPOLITIK AND CONTINUING VALUE TO BERLIN OF GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ WHO HAS INFLUENCE IN BONN AND A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 USBERL 00315 01 OF 02 210045Z

THREE ALLIES. SPD IS WELL AWARE THAT IN TERMS OF PERSONAL POPULARITY, SCHUETZ STANDS HEAD AND SHOULDERS NOT ONLY OVER CDU OR FDP MAYORAL CANDIDATES BUT OVER HIS OWN PARTY AS WELL.

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PAGE 01 USBERL 00315 02 OF 02 210051Z

64

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 315

3. WITH OPPOSITION'S STRESS ON CHANGE FOR SAKE OF CHANGE, IDEOLOGICAL AND EVEN PROGRAMMATIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONTENDING PARTIES--AGAIN EXCEPTING EXTREME LEFT-HAVE BEEN MUTED OR IGNORED. ALL SUPPORT CODETERMINATION (WITHOUT GETTING INTO DETAILS), BETTER CARE FOR AGED, IMPROVED SCHOOLS, MORE HOSPITALS, AND BETTER PUBLIC HOUSING, AND WITH PARTIAL EXCEPTION OF BUND FREIES DEUTSCHLAND (BFD), ALL ACCEPT CONSEQUENCES OF EASTERN TREATIES AND OSTPOLITIK IN GENERAL (THIS IS NOT TO DENY, OF COURSE, CDU CLAIM THAT POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL COST OF OSTPOLITIK HAS BEEN EXCESSIVE). THERE ARE OCCASIONAL EXCEPTIONS EVEN AMONG LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 USBERL 00315 02 OF 02 210051Z

MAJOR PARTIES TO THIS SUPPRESSION OF IDEOLOGY: FDP, FOR INSTANCE, PORTRAYS SELF IN CERTAIN ELECTORAL MATERIALS AS REPRESENTING HAPPY MIDDLE BETWEEN "RED" SPD AND "BLACK" CDU, DESPITE FACT THAT MAJORITY OF BERLIN FDP IS ON MOST ISSUES WELL TO LEFT OF GOVERNING SPD. PARTIES ON EXTREME LEFT OF SPECTRUM-SEW, KPD, AND KOMMUNISTISCHE BUND WESTDEUTSCHLAND (KBW)- OF COURSE HAVE LITTLE MORE TO OFFER THAN PURE IDEOLOGY, BUT THEIR CALL FOR "WORKING-CLASS POWER" IS CLEARLY OUT OF TUNE AND FINDS LITTLE RESPONANCE IN POPULATION THAT ALREADY ENJOYS SUBSTANTIAL BENEFITS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND HAS DAY-TO-DAY EXPERIENCE OF LIVING SURROUNDED BY STATE WHERE PROLETARIAT IS SAID TO EXERCISE POWER.

4. WITH NO MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT STAKE, AND WITH OPPOSITION CRITIQUE OF SPD FAILING TO EVOKE MUCH REACTION, GENERAL MOOD OF ELECTORATE IS APATHETIC. CDU SLOGAN "VOTERS, GET MAD*" OBVIOUSLY REFLECTS CONCERN ABOUT THIS APATHY. MANY OBSERVERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT VOTER TURNOUT, BY GERMAN STANDARDS, WILL BE LOW, IN PART, APATHY OF ELECTORAL IS BASED ON RECOGNITION THAT IT ULTIMATELY MAKES LITTLE DIFFERENCE FOR BERLIN'S FUTURE WHETHER SPD, CDU, OR SPD-FDP COALITION GOVERNS CITY. PRESENCE OF ALLIES, CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY SOVIET AND GDR POLICIES, AND PREPONDERANT ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SIGNIFICANTLY RESTRICT MANEUVER-ROOM AND RANGE OF CHOICES AVAILABLE TO LOCAL ELECTED GOVERNMENT AS FAR AS "EXTERMAN" RELATIONS AND COEXISTENCE WITH GDR ARE CONCERNED. MAJOR LINES OF "DOMESTIC" POLICY ARE ALSO DETERMINED IN BONN RATHER THAN IN RATHAUS SCHOENEBERG, AND CDU MAJORITY HERE WOULD HAVE LITTLE PRACTICAL EFFECT AS LONG AS SPD-FDP COALITION REMAINS IN POWER AT FEDERAL LEVEL.GEORGE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: PARTY LINE, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, OPPOSITION PARTIES

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 20 FEB 1975 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MorefiRH
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975 USBERI 00315

Document Number: 1975USBERL00315 Document Source: CORE Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: N/A Errors: N/A Film Number: D750061-0937

From: USBERLIN

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750225/aaaaawxn.tel Line Count: 204

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Office: ACTION EUR Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4

Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: 75 USBERLIN 0313 Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: MorefiRH

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 20 MAY 2003

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <21 MAY 2003 by MorefiRH>

Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JÚL 2006

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: MARCH 2 BERLIN ELECTIONS--THE ISSUES (OR ABSENCE THEREOF)
TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, PINT, WB, SDP
To: STATE BONN

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006